

PROPERTY OF
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
RECEIVED FEB 4 1949

stak - CG

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

VOLUME XII, NUMBER 21

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY 8, 1943



Red Army soldiers pursue retreating Germans through a recaptured Russian town

ACME

Russia's Role in War and Peace

It is always a hard thing for a number of nations to band together to fight a war. It is harder yet for them to write a peace treaty and to determine conditions of lasting peace. Alliances always have one point of weakness—the possibility of a breakup.

The Germans and the Japanese are watching anxiously for signs of trouble among the United Nations. This now seems to be the best hope of escaping total defeat.

But our enemies hope that there may be a falling out in the camp of the United Nations. The Germans think that, if they settle down to a war of defense, sooner or later quarrels may develop among the Allies. Either the Allies may break up before the war is over and thus lose the victory, or they may fail to agree on the terms of peace. This would lead to a period of turmoil and anarchy which would give the Germans and Japanese a chance to restore their fighting power.

Our enemies are hoping especially that differences may develop between Russia, on the one side, and America and Great Britain, on the

other. Russia is a communistic nation. America and Britain are capitalistic. The Russian government is a dictatorship, while democracy prevails among the British and Americans. Since these three countries did not work together in matters of foreign policy before the war, think the Germans and Japanese, perhaps they may quarrel about the conduct of the war or about the terms of peace.

There are a good many Americans who share the view that it will be

very hard for us to cooperate peacefully with Russia. One frequently hears the opinions expressed that Russia will bear watching, that she is a source of danger to this country. Some Americans are saying that the Russians will undertake to spread communism among other nations when the war is over, and that eventually there must be a showdown between the Anglo-American forces and the Soviet Union. There are newspapers and editorial writers in this country who are carrying on a

campaign of hate against Russia; a campaign as bitter as it could be if Russia were already at war with us.

Is there any basis for these fears and suspicions? Is there a real danger that the interests and policies of the Russians and Americans will be in conflict during the years to come?

No one knows for a certainty the answer to these questions. We cannot lift the veil which conceals the future from our eyes. We do not know what will happen during and after the war. Everything depends upon the intelligence, the tact, and the wisdom with which the various nations meet postwar problems.

There will be irritations, of course. There will be conflicts of interest on certain points. Many of the larger interests of the Russians and Americans are in common, however, and if good sense and judgment are exercised, it should be possible for the two nations to work harmoniously for world peace.

It is very important indeed that they do this. Assuming that the United Nations win the war, it is
(Continued on page 6)

This Week's Issue

The historic Casablanca conference focused the eyes of the world not only on the famous participants, but also on the empty chairs. Why was Chiang Kai-shek or a personal representative not there? And why, if Stalin was too busy with the great Russian offensive to be there, was he not represented by someone?

Has strain developed in Anglo-American relations with the Soviet Union, or have arrangements satis-

factory to all parties been reached behind the scenes?

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, our relations with Russia, both during and after the war, are extremely important.

In the effort to help promote a better understanding of that country, The American Observer offers this week a special number on Russia. Next week's paper will interpret late developments as usual.



Russia--the Land and the People

HOW can we know Russia? How can we get a picture of a land which has changed, and is changing, so much and so rapidly—a land which dwarfs every other country of the world in size, which surpasses all others in the contrasts of its people, its climate, its soil, and its resources?

There is so much to Russia that the nation can only be viewed in a series of many pictures. Consider, for example, the matter of size. It is a country which occupies almost a sixth of the total land surface of the world. It contains more territory than Canada, the United States, and Central America combined.

The sun never quite sets on Russia. When darkness falls on the western edge, day is already breaking in the east. The great land sprawls across the whole top of Asia, reaching on the one side into Europe and touching China and the Pacific on the other; in fact, extending into the Pacific far beyond Japan, almost touching Alaska. You would have to travel twice across the United States in order to cover a distance equal to the breadth of Russia. There is an old Russian proverb which says: "Russia is not a country—it is a world."

Variety of Climate

Almost every kind of climate is found in Russia. The vast north remains cold and frozen most of the year; the great central plain feels extremes of heat and cold depending upon the season; the Crimea—Russia's vacationland—is warm and sunny much of the time. By and large, because of its generally inland position, Russia has a severe climate—hot in summer, cold in winter.

The wealth of Russia's soil has only

begun to be developed in recent years. The black earth of the Ukraine, the oil of the Caucasus, the coal of the Don River basin, the iron ore of the Ural Mountains, the forests of Siberia, the grasslands of the steppes—these are typical of the resources which make Russia a great productive region. Before the present war, Russia ranked first among the nations in wheat production, second in oil, second in iron ore, third in steel, fourth in coal. Immense riches are still in the soil.

But in making the most of her resources Russia is handicapped by difficulties of climate, by great distances which have to be traveled, by an almost total lack of good highways, by a railway system which is only one-fourth as large as that of the United States.

Swift Progress

Russia's industrial and agricultural development in recent years, despite these and other difficulties, has been extraordinary. Formerly the Russians drew their living almost entirely from the western part of their country. The leading industrial centers were around Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, and Kiev (see map). Most of the food came from the Ukraine, from along the Don River and from the Volga. Russia's great backyard—a region of tremendous expanse—was all but forgotten.

Although the west is still the most important part of the nation, a great change has taken place during the last 10 years or more, and it has been pushed forward by the war. Wishing to turn Russia into a powerful and well-balanced nation, Soviet leaders began some years ago to develop the great uncovered resources of the hin-

derland. The greatest progress has been around the Ural Mountains.

When Germany invaded the west, and moved against the old productive regions of Russia, development of the east was pushed. Whole factories were torn from their moorings in such cities as Kiev and Kharkov, were loaded on flat cars, and taken eastward. Workers accompanied their machines and rapidly placed them in production again. This remarkable achievement accounted in good part for Russia's ability to stand up under the German attacks.

Agriculture has been developed along with industry in the interior, and, as a result, Russia is today in a strong position notwithstanding her losses. This does not mean that the people have not suffered and will not suffer more from the loss of the resources of the Ukraine and Don Basin. They are already suffering greatly. But it does mean that disaster and defeat have been avoided through the heroic effort of the population.

Melting Pot

The people of Russia are as varied as their land. They belong to more than 50 racial groups and speak over 80 different languages. In Russia, Europe and Asia meet, making the land a great melting pot of races. However, three-fourths of the Russians are Slavs and are akin to the Slavs of southern Europe.

In population Russia is outranked only by China and India, and her numbers are increasing at a rapid pace. In 1939 the population of Russia was slightly over 170,000,000. Russians are increasing in numbers about twice as rapidly as the people of the United States or Germany. A notable fact about Russia is the large

number of young people. In 1939, nearly half of the total population—45 per cent—was under 19 years of age.

So much for some of the more important facts about Russia today. A word, now, about how the Russians live, and how, in particular, their lives differ from ours.

Village Life

Six out of every 10 Russians today live in villages and work on farms. The village has always been the most important center of life in Russia. A typical village consists of two long rows of small houses facing each other across a street which is dry and dusty in summer and a channel of mud in winter. Although much has been done to improve and brighten up the villages in recent years, houses do not have the conveniences which are common in this country.

Today, the average village is likely to be the center of a collective farm, for the Russians have taken their land and divided it into large farms. Some of these farms are controlled directly by the government, others indirectly through local Soviets or councils. The people work together on the farms and share in what is produced—after a portion has been deducted for taxes and other expenses.

Family life has undergone great changes in Russia since the Communists took over. Both men and women work, and do the same kind of work, in the factories and on the farms. This makes for less home life than we know in this country. Because the Communists are opposed to religion, marriage ties are not regarded as sacred and can easily be broken. The church is not nearly so

(Concluded on page 3, column 4)

1,000 Years of Russia's Past

FOR the beginning of Russia we go back about a thousand years. The land had been inhabited before that, but little was recorded earlier than about the ninth century. At that time, a little before the Norman conquest of England, Slavic people were living in the region about the city of Kiev. Some of them were wandering herdsmen, while others had settled down and were engaged in a primitive farming industry.

For several centuries these early Russians expanded their domain and moved to the northward and to the eastward. Their chief city, Kiev, flourished. It reached a stage of development similar to that of the large cities of western Europe.

Then, in the thirteenth century, a great disaster befell the Russians. Genghis Khan and his hordes of Mongols reached the Russian settlements in the great invasion which carried them from eastern Asia to south-eastern Europe. This was a brutal conquest. Entire cities were completely destroyed and the inhabitants were killed, or enslaved. The three centuries or so of Mongol rule were dark indeed.

Prince of Moscow

Then came deliverance from the north. A strong leader came to power in Moscow. He was known as the Prince of Moscow. He extended his power to the southward, drove out the Mongols and proclaimed himself the "Czar" of all Russians.

But all did not go well in Russia following this deliverance. There was fierce fighting between the wandering herdsmen and the settled agricultural communities. There were invasions by the Swedes and the Poles. There was a period of anarchy which is known in Russian history as the "time of trouble."

In 1613, a few years after Jamestown was settled in Virginia, a strong czar came to power. He belonged to the house of Romanof. This dynasty held power until 1917, when the Bolshevik revolution overthrew the monarchy.

The czar who is best known in Russian history was Peter the Great, who ruled from 1689 to 1725. Peter was conscious of the fact that Russia

was a backward nation when compared with the countries of western Europe. As a matter of fact, Russia was Asiatic in character as much as it was European. Peter undertook to change this. He visited the European capitals, studied their ways, and then tried to bring Russia up to their standards.

Another noted Russian ruler was Catherine the Great, who was in power at the time our republic was established. She was a contemporary of George Washington. Catherine undertook to carry on the work which Peter the Great started.

Lagged Behind

During the nineteenth century, however, and the early twentieth, Russia did not become industrialized. It remained an agricultural nation. Even agriculture was backward. Farming was inefficient. The land was tilled by serfs—peasants who, while not in complete slavery, were attached to the land and could not migrate from it or seek employment elsewhere.

It helps us to see how much progress Russia has made during recent years when we reflect that more than half of the population was in serfdom—virtual slavery—until about the time that the Negroes were freed from slavery in the United States. There were 58 million serfs in Russia at the middle of the nineteenth century. Most of them were freed about the time of the American Civil War.

But this did not solve the problems of the serfs. It did not solve the problems of poverty, for the serfs had no land that they could call their own. Provision was made whereby they might purchase land and some of them did it. By the time of the First World War there were many peasants in western Russia who owned little tracts of a few acres of land which they farmed very inefficiently. In eastern Russia most of the land was held in common. That is, a village owned a tract of land which the inhabitants farmed.

Government under the czars was both despotic and corrupt. The czar held absolute power. The men who administered the law from the national officers down to those who had

charge of things in the local communities were responsible only to the czar. The people had no voice whatever in government. Hence, they obtained no experience in political affairs. Most of them were illiterate. Only about a tenth could read and write at the time that the czarist government was overthrown. They lived more like animals than human beings. It is said that more than half of them never wandered farther than 20 miles from the particular village in which they were born.

The church was the Greek Orthodox. The Pope was never recognized as the head of the church. Instead, the head was the czar. Since the czar was in control of both church and state, it was hard to separate the two. Many of the local priests were deeply sympathetic with the masses of people, but the higher clergy, owing their power to the czar, served him.

This accounts for the fact which many people in other countries have failed to understand. It explains the attitude of many Russian people toward the church when the czarist government was overthrown. The people of Russia were not accustomed to churches such as we have in America, but to a church which was ruled by a despotic czar.

No Middle Class

There was not a strong middle class in Russia. There were a few nobles and great landlords at the top and a mass of ignorant peasants and factory workers at the bottom.

There was little personal initiative among the Russians, high or low. The government directed nearly all activities. When new industries were to be established, it was the government which took the leading part in getting the work started. When, consequently, the Communists came into power and adopted a system whereby the government operated all industries, the break from the past was not anything like so great as it would have been if the same change had taken place in the United States. Furthermore, the great mass of Russian people, under the czars, of course, enjoyed precious little political freedom.



Peter the Great

Questions On Russia

1. Compare Russia in size and population with the United States.
2. What are the most important products of Russia?
3. How far back does the recorded history of Russia extend?
4. Describe the form of government under the czars.
5. What is the Communist attitude toward religion? Who was the head of the church under the czars?
6. When were the serfs freed?
7. Describe the condition of the people under czarist rule.
8. Why is it said that the break with the past was not so complete when communism was established in Russia as it would have been had it been adopted in America?
9. How is industry owned and managed under communism?
10. How is Russia governed at this time?
11. What about the freedom of the individual under communism?
12. Does recent Russian foreign policy indicate that that country is likely to work for peace?
13. Under what conditions may America's relations with Russia be strained after the war?
14. How can Americans help to preserve peaceful relations with the Soviet Union?

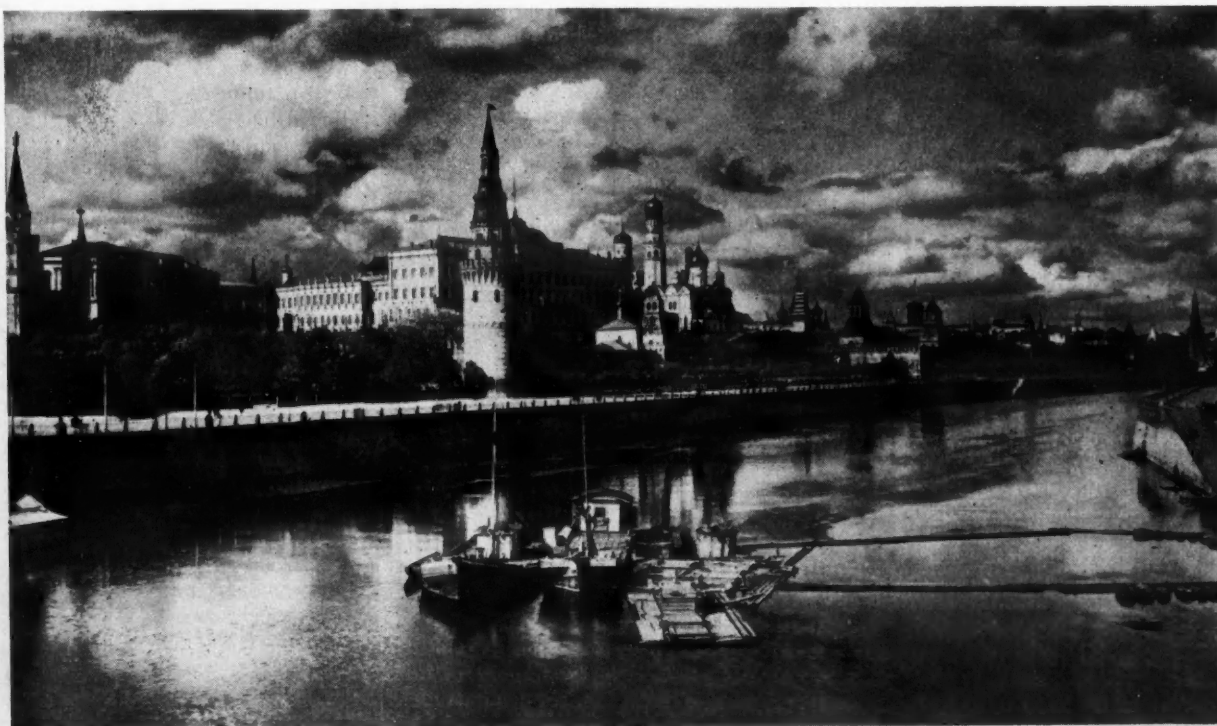
RUSSIA—LAND AND PEOPLE (Concluded from page 2)

important an influence as it used to be.

Special community nurseries are provided for babies so that mothers can return to work as soon as possible. From their earliest days children are thus largely brought up by public institutions. Their health and their education are closely supervised by the government.

In the factories of the cities, workers are organized into unions. Small industries may be run as cooperatives, with the workers sharing in the management and the proceeds. Large industries are owned and operated by the state. All industries, large and small, are subject to strict government control.

It all adds up to a life very different from that of our own country and of others. There is no denying that the Communist way of doing things has accomplished a great deal in a country which was as backward as Russia once was. Industry, agriculture, and armed power have been built up to an amazing extent over a brief period of years. What effect the war will have upon the Communist program and the future of the Russian people remains to be seen.



The skyline of Moscow reflects the architecture of old Russia

GALLOWAY



SOVPHOTO

These Russian workers are following the latest reports from the front

WHEN the Communists gained power over Russia in November, 1917, they took into their hands a nation which had been suffering for centuries from poverty, backwardness, and oppressive rule (see page 3). It was these conditions, together with the breakdown brought about by blows suffered in the First World War, which made it possible for the Communists to seize power. They were only a small group and they had little popular following, for the peasants, never having had a voice in government, knew nothing about politics, parties, and revolutionary movements. But the Communists were able, they were determined, and they struck at the right time.

Having established themselves, they set out to build a new kind of nation. It was to be a communist state in which, according to the theory of communism, all the land, all the resources, and all the industries were to be owned, not by individuals or corporations working for a profit, but by the people together. The people would do the work and would reap the benefits on a fair basis according to the work they contributed.

Government Ownership

The Communists, after a number of years of bitter struggle, finally placed Russian industry and agriculture under public and collective ownership. The Soviet government itself owns and runs all the main industrial and commercial enterprises. It is the great single employer, and pays its workers wages just as private employers do in this country. Wages in Russia vary a great deal, according to the merit of the worker and the type of work he performs.

The government also owns large state farms, and pays wages to workers on these farms. The many collective farms, however, are run on a different basis. The members of these agricultural groups work together and share, according to the work they do, in the year's crops. The government takes over a large share of the crops for taxes and services which it has rendered to

the collectives. The remainder of the produce is divided among the members and they can sell their shares on the market if they have any left over after meeting their own needs.

Many small businesses in Russia are also run on a collective or co-operative basis. The fact is, of course, that the government, for all practical purposes, controls these collective enterprises. It decides what they shall produce and how much. It also sets the price which the collectives can charge for their products.

The only property that city workers may own is their houses and personal belongings. Each collective farm member may own the strip of land on which he lives, together with his house, a cow, a pig, and a few chickens. Nearly everything else is owned in common.

The Communists argue that public ownership is preferable to private ownership for this reason: Private owners, they say, will not produce any more of a given product than they can sell at a profit. If the masses of people do not have sufficient purchasing power to buy as much as these private owners produce, the owners simply will not produce so much.

That is why, say the Communists, the farms and factories in capitalist countries do not produce as much as they are able to. Most of the time they cannot sell even as much as they

Communism Trans

do produce. This is because the owners of industry do not pay high enough wages—do not share their profits sufficiently—to provide the mass of people with adequate purchasing power.

Under communism, it is argued, the government solves this problem. Since it controls farms and factories, it can keep them geared up to capacity. It need not hold back on account of profits. It produces as much as it possibly can. It employs everybody who can work. Then it pays the people high enough wages to enable them to buy all that is being turned out.

Such, in brief, is the case put forth by the Communists in favor of collective ownership of industry and agriculture. All but a few Americans are opposed to such a system. They believe that, in the long run, private ownership is a far greater incentive to hard work and initiative on the part of individuals than any plan of collective or government ownership.

Many agree that perhaps a system as drastic as communism was essential for the Russians, since they had lagged so far behind other modern peoples in industry, education, and living standards. But even they, it is argued, will strive for and demand the right to own property and their own businesses as they become more advanced—better educated.

Economic Planning

A large number of Americans, it is true, believe that there should be greater cooperation between private industry and government in planning and controlling our economic life, but very few favor public ownership and operation, except in special fields such as education, postal service, and a few others. It is generally felt that we will be able to solve our industrial problems without resorting to such drastic measures as denying the people the right of ownership.

Not only are Russia's industries and farms run differently from ours, but so is her whole political system. The Communists established what is known as the Soviet system. The word "soviet" is the old Russian word

for council. The Communists built the structure of their new government in the form of a pyramid of councils. At the bottom are large numbers of small Soviets in communities throughout Russia, to deal with local matters, and larger Soviets above to handle problems affecting entire regions. At the top is the Supreme Soviet, governing the whole Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics—the official name of Russia.

The communist idea is that through



The famed Cossacks have performed brilliantly in this war as in others.

these Soviets the people shall govern themselves, and shall manage the agriculture and the industry of the nation. They are to elect members to the various Soviets.

That is the theory, but in practice it has worked out differently. The Communists, as we have seen, were a small group. They had plenty of bitter opposition both at home and abroad and were obliged to apply a strong hand to keep themselves from being overthrown. The great majority of Russians, moreover, were not equipped to carry on self-government.

So the pyramid, instead of being ruled from the bottom, was ruled from the top. It was governed by the Executive Committee of the Supreme Soviet, and more particularly by one man on that committee—Nikolai Lenin at first, and afterward by Josef Stalin. The Soviets became dominated by the Communist Party which was the only party permitted to exist. For all practical purposes Russia became a dictatorship.

The Communists frankly admitted this, said it was necessary, and claimed that in time the dictatorship



SOVPHOTO

The Russian village is often the center of a large collective farm

The American Observer

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and three issues from the middle of August to the first week in September) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

...rms Russian Life

would be relaxed and would eventually disappear. But so long as Russia was faced by foreign enemies, and so long as the country was undeveloped, a strong guiding hand would be necessary.

Since those early days, the dictatorship has been relaxed to some extent. The people have greater freedom in their elections and more to say in managing local affairs. There is no doubt, however, as to where the final authority lies.

Freedom of speech is allowed in Russia to the extent that one may criticize inefficiency in government, poor leadership, bad management. But no one may safely say that some other system is better than communism.

As for religious freedom in Russia, it is generally agreed among foreign observers there that the situation has considerably improved in recent years. In the early period of communism, churches were closed everywhere, and a relentless campaign was

During the war, it is reported, the government has been even more lenient with the churches, because they have been invaluable in providing spiritual aid in this hour of crisis, and they are centers for relief and war work. But religion has suffered a heavy blow under communism, and it may take a number of years to undo the damage, even if the Communists should eventually cease their propaganda against religion.

In the economic field, the Russians enjoy their greatest amount of freedom. Workers in factories, and farmers on collective farms express themselves freely about their working conditions. They have a considerable voice in problems of management.

Moreover, the numerous national and racial groups within Russia enjoy political equality and, even though everyone must learn Russian, these groups are free to speak their own languages as well and follow their customs.

Communist leaders contend that eventually there will be a maximum of political freedom in Russia. But until the system becomes firmly established and the people are well educated, they say, it is necessary to maintain a dictatorship. As time goes on, it is claimed, the people will desire to be given political liberty, but by that time communism will be safe, for it will have been given a long enough trial to prove its merits.

Critics of communism contend that the dictatorship never will be and never can be, relaxed sufficiently to give the Russians the same kind of freedom which is protected under the American system of government and industry.

Living Standards

Gradually the material welfare of the Russian people has improved under Communist rule. When the Communists started out, they knew that if the country ever hoped to have a higher standard of living, the people must first build factories, power plants, agricultural machinery, railways, houses and apartments, stores, office buildings, schools, and other



Illiteracy has been almost abolished in Russia

such projects. So most of the efforts and energies of the nation were turned in that direction. Large parts of Russia were turned into modern industrial centers in less than 20 years. Thousands of new factories, giant power developments, highly mechanized farms—these and countless other industrial achievements were carried out by the Communists.

During much of this great building period, the people were probably no better off than before. They couldn't eat or wear the new industrial structures, and they were so busy building them that they had too little time to produce clothing, furniture, food, and countless articles which families need to provide comfort.

Just when the Russians were beginning to use their new factories and farm machinery to produce a higher standard of living for themselves, the danger of war developed and interfered with their progress. As this danger increased, the Communist leaders shifted great numbers of workers away from the task of producing goods for the people and put them to work in armament factories. This action, as we now know, saved Russia from military defeat, but it postponed for a number of years the prospect of a more comfortable life for the Russians.

Before the present war began, the Communist leaders hoped to achieve about as high a standard of living for the Russian people at the end of

25 years as the American people enjoyed in 1929. There is a difference of opinion as to whether they were moving fast enough to do so, and whether they could have kept up their pace. At any rate, it will require at least 10 years longer as a result of the war.

The highest standard of living which Russia achieved under communism was during the years 1935 to 1937. The defense program, although under way on a fairly large scale at that time, had not yet affected living conditions seriously. Even then, the Soviet leaders admitted that they still had a considerable distance to travel to match the level of well-being in such countries as Germany and England, and still farther to go to catch up with us.

The Russians, during their most prosperous period, were getting more household utensils, radios, and other such goods than they had been before. The great majority of them, however, were still without telephones, radios, washing machines, vacuum sweepers, automobiles, and other products which a large part of our population enjoys. They had enough food to maintain good health, but it lacked the variety which most of us normally enjoy.

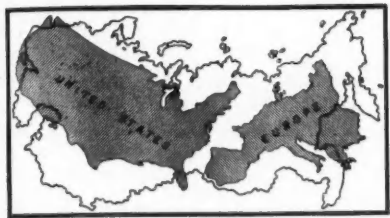
Housing Conditions

Housing conditions in Russia were particularly bad—extremely crowded in the cities, and still widely lacking in modern facilities in the country. Nevertheless, progress was definitely under way in this field, and large housing projects were under construction in the cities. Thousands of small but modern houses were being built on the collective farms.

And while the people had to work hard, with few comforts, they did feel secure. There was practically no unemployment in Russia. The people enjoyed such protection as free medical care, health and old-age insurance.

The war has interrupted Russia's advance, and a difficult period of reconstruction will have to come before forward steps can be taken once more. The Communists, however, are convinced they have found a way to provide mass comfort and happiness.

Whether they can accomplish this goal without permanent dictatorship remains to be seen. The Russian people have never had the personal freedom we know, and have never exercised individual initiative. These are rights which are cherished under democratic government, and that is why the communist system, whatever its accomplishments in Russia, finds little favor among Americans.



The United States and Europe could fit inside of Russia with plenty of room to spare.

waged against religion (see page 3).

Since then, however, thousands of the churches have reopened, and the government has become more moderate in its attitude toward religion. It permits church attendance, but it also encourages propaganda against religion. It is a fact that a great many of the young people in the cities have been turned against religion since the Communists came into power, but the large majority of farm families continue to cling to their spiritual faith.

And even in the cities, religion is still widely practiced. It is said that the Cathedral of Moscow was packed with 12,000 worshippers at the outbreak of war with Germany.



Many of the new buildings erected by the Soviets have been destroyed. The above buildings were in Kharkov, now in German hands.

The Soviet Union and the World

(Continued from page 1)

almost certain that the United States and Russia will emerge from the conflict the two most powerful nations in the world. Upon them and England will rest the chief responsibility for peace and order and progress throughout the earth. If there should be armed conflict between these nations, another global war will almost certainly result and will probably destroy modern civilization.

Hence, it is extremely dangerous for us to be defeatists about our future relations with Russia, and to assume in advance that conflict is inevitable. The wiser course is for us to declare that the two countries must work effectively together in war and in peace, and then to find out how this can best be done.

Let us first consider the matter of whether the Russians will be determined, as their critics say, to spread communism to other countries by force and violence. The record of the Communist leaders before the war does not indicate that they are certain—or even likely—to attempt anything of the kind. It is a fact that for a few years after the Bolshevik Revolution of a quarter of a century ago, leaders of the Russian government hoped and worked for a world revolution which would enthrone communism everywhere. They thought that communism would not be safe in Russia so long as the country was surrounded by capitalistic nations which hated communism.

Trotsky vs. Stalin

This point of view was upheld by Leon Trotsky, but was opposed by Josef Stalin. Stalin argued that the best way to preserve communism was to make it work in Russia. If it gave that vast land a prosperous industry and a well-fed people, he held, it would spread elsewhere without the use of force.

But, Stalin argued, communism could not be successful in Russia if there were constant threats of war, forcing the nation to spend its energies for military preparedness. Thus, he contended that Russia should not try to stir up European conflicts which might engulf her in war.

There was a bitter dispute between Trotsky and Stalin. Stalin won and Trotsky was exiled. After years of exile he went to Mexico, where he was assassinated in 1940. Stalin came into undisputed power in Russia and followed the policy of internal development and of peaceful foreign relations.

Such was the policy of Russia during the stormy years which preceded the outbreak of war. After Russia was admitted to the League of Nations, she stood strongly for the policy known as "collective security." Russia wanted the League to take strong action against any nation which made aggressive war. She was willing and anxious to join with other countries in putting down aggression. She worked untiringly for this.

Russia continued her efforts along this line until the Munich conference in September 1938. It will be remembered that the leaders of England, France, Germany, and Italy agreed, at that meeting, to permit Hitler to take over the region in

Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland. Hitler, on the other hand, agreed to end forever his campaign of aggression.

Russia was completely ignored at the Munich conference. The Soviet leaders were angered that England and France should make a "deal" with the fascist dictators—a deal which they insisted "sold Czechoslovakia down the river" and increased the German menace.

A short time later, Germany invaded the remainder of Czechoslovakia. Then it became obvious to everyone, even to Prime Minister Chamberlain, that Hitler's word meant nothing and that he was headed for world domination. England and France then turned to Russia in the effort to reach an agreement by which the three nations would make war on Germany

when the time came for Hitler to invade Poland. Russia, despite the fact that she had been spurned at Munich, agreed to enter a pact with England and France, but only under certain conditions.

She pointed out that, in the event of such a war, she would have to carry the brunt of the fighting against Germany because of her location. France, it was argued, was safe behind her Maginot Line, and England was separated from Europe by the English Channel. The German armies, the Russians said, would quickly conquer Poland and then would concentrate their attack on Russia.

Thus, the Soviet leaders said that steps should be taken in advance of a German invasion to protect Russia. For one thing, England, France, and Russia should immediately take con-

trol of the small Baltic countries—Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania—and a small part of Finland, in order to set up a buffer for the protection of Leningrad and Russia's northern ports which are so vital in bringing in supplies from the outside world.

The Soviets also proposed that when Germany invaded Poland, France and England should attack the Germans from the west, and that Russia should immediately march into Poland to meet them from the east. Russia should not wait, it was argued, until the Germans reached their borders.

France and England were completely opposed to the plan of taking control of the Baltic states. Poland, on the other hand, was set against having Russian armies march into her land, even if it were invaded by Germany. The French and British supported the Poles on this issue.

When it became clear that no agreement could be reached, Stalin decided to take the steps which he felt would offer Russia the greatest protection. First, he made a deal with Germany. He agreed not to side with Poland or her British and French allies in case they went to war against Germany. This arrangement, of course, gave Germany a safe opportunity to attack the Poles. He also agreed to furnish the Germans certain materials and products which they needed. In return, Hitler promised not to invade Russia. Stalin knew that Hitler would not keep his promise indefinitely, but he thought the agreement with Germany would give him precious time to strengthen his military machine.

Soviets Establish Buffers

As Hitler attacked Poland from the west, the Soviet armies moved in from the east, not to help Germany but to set up a Polish buffer between the advancing Germans and Russia. The Soviet government also compelled the Baltic states to give Russia military and naval bases. When similar demands were made upon Finland, she refused and Russia attacked her. Russia finally won the territory she felt she needed, and lost no time in fortifying it against the ever-growing danger of German attack.

The democratic countries turned bitterly against Russia when she made her deal with Germany and went to war against Finland. Russia now claims that she did what was essential to safeguard herself. The rest of Europe, she contends, was too blind to see the terrible menace of Nazi Germany, and thus she had to take steps which were acts of aggression but which were necessary to strengthen her defenses against Germany.

Today, the Russians feel that events have proved the wisdom of their actions. They contend that the only hope for the freedom of the small nations which they attacked, as well as for the rest of Europe, depends upon Russia's ability to withstand the Nazi armies.

However one may feel on this issue, it is a fact that Russia's record before her deal with Germany indicated a strong desire on her part to see the peace of Europe preserved. Her support of the League of Na-

Willkie on Russia

I find some of my American friends almost haunted when they conjure up in their minds the picture of this vast, relatively unknown, powerful country seeking to impose its communistic ideology on large areas of the world. Some of them have even got themselves into a state of mind where they think we are merely destroying Hitler to create a new world menace in Russia. . . .

Obviously it would be ridiculous for me to attempt to say what Russia is going to do. This much, however, I do know to be true: That there are 200,000,000 subjects of the U. S. S. R.;

That they control the largest single land mass in the world under one government;

That they have almost inexhaustible supplies of timber, iron, coal, oil, which is, practically speaking, unexploited;

That through elaborate systems of hospitalization and public health organizations, the Russian people are one of the healthiest peoples in the world, living in a vigorous, stimulating climate;

That in the last twenty-five years, through a widespread, drastic educational system, a large percentage have become literate and tens of thousands technically trained; and that from the



Stalin and Willkie

topmost official to the most insignificant farm or factory worker the Russians are fanatically devoted to Russia and supercharged with the dream of its future development.

I don't know the answers to the questions about Russia, but there's one other thing I know: that such a force, such a power, such a people cannot be ignored or disposed of with a high hat or a lifting of the skirt. They will be reckoned with. That is the reason why I am constantly telling my fellow Americans: Work in ever-closer cooperation with them while we are joined together in the common purpose of defeating a common enemy. Learn all we can about them and let them learn about us. . . .

There's still another thing I know. That geographically, from a trade standpoint, from a similarity of approach to many problems, the Russians and the Americans should get along together. The industrialization of Russia will require a limitless amount of American products, and Russia has unlimited natural resources that we need. The Russians, like us, are a hardy, a direct people and have great admiration for everything in America, except the capitalistic system.

And, frankly, there are many things in Russia that we can admire—its vigor, its vast dreams, its energy, its tenacity of purpose. No one could be more opposed to the communistic doctrine than I am, for I am completely opposed to any system that leads to absolutism. But I have never understood why it should be assumed that in any possible contact between communism and democracy, democracy should go down.

I believe it is possible for Russia and America, perhaps the most powerful countries in the world, to work together for the economic freedom and the peace of the world. At least, knowing that there can be no enduring peace, no economic stability, unless the two work together, there is nothing I ever wanted more to believe. And so deep is my faith in the fundamental rightness of our free economic and political institutions that I am convinced they will survive any such working together.

From the New York Times Magazine



The Russians made heavy sacrifices to build up their military power

tions and of joint efforts between peace-loving nations to check aggression was more consistent than that of any other power.

Even during the war, moreover, Russia has stressed the need for effective peace machinery after the war. She and England have entered into a military pact. They agree to use their combined military strength to guarantee the peace of the world. They also agree to cooperate with any other nations with the same goal.

There is good reason to believe, therefore, that Russian influence in the future will be exerted in favor of maintaining peace. After this war, living standards in that land will be shockingly low. It will take many years for the Soviet leaders to repair the physical damage suffered by their country as a result of the war.

The communist system will be at stake. It will be faced with one of its greatest tests. It will be more important for the Russian leaders to work for a peaceful world than ever before, because if such a world can be established Russia will not have to devote great amounts of her energy, manpower, and materials to military purposes. The leaders can concentrate on the domestic problems which must be met if their economic system is to survive.

Harmony Not Certain

Granting that Russia's best interests and America's best interests require that the two countries work together harmoniously, we cannot be certain that they will follow such a course. Nations frequently adopt policies which run counter to their best interests. They often quarrel, even though the quarrels are disastrous to both sides. America and Russia may conceivably make mistakes of that kind—mistakes which will have ruinous results. They may do so unless moderation is practiced on both sides.

We may expect that many unpleasant situations will develop after the war. Movements which are annoying and even dangerous may develop. It is practically certain that there will be revolutions in Europe. Almost unquestionably there will be revolution in Germany if she loses the war. There will be revolts all the way from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Some of these uprisings will probably be communist in nature. It is quite likely that they will be, whether or not Russia supports them.

The extent of this development is likely to depend largely upon the

international policy which America adopts. We are in a position to help Russia and the other nations of Europe to rebuild after the war. If we assist them in material ways and cooperate with them in organizing to preserve peace and order, we can be very influential. If, however, we withdraw from world politics and leave the settlement of international problems to other nations, it is quite



The Soviet government will face a heavy task of reconstruction after the war

certain that Russia will play a leading role, and communism will be encouraged.

At best, conditions after the war are likely to be such that public opinion the world over will be disturbed, unsettled. People are likely to be excitable, jittery. Extremists will assert themselves in all countries. Extreme elements in Russia may insist on supporting the communist movements even though such action may increase strife and in that way injure the best interests of Russia. In the United States, extreme elements may demand that we support European groups which are not only anti-communist, but anti-Russian.

In every country there are rash and extreme groups at all times and they are likely to flourish and become influential in periods of excitement or danger. Russia has her extremists—individuals and organizations which have never given up the Trotsky idea of world revolution. There is an organization known as the "Third Internationale," a world-wide Communist Party group, which has caused much trouble by fostering communism in other countries, including the United States. Its intrigues with American Communists have hurt our relations

with Russia seriously. If it continues, and especially if, in a time of stress, it intensifies its activities, bad feeling will result.

In our country there are men like the columnist, Westbrook Pegler, who lose no chance to attack Russia and to appeal to prejudice, suspicion, and hatred against our Russian allies. When influential writers and editors go to such lengths to inspire fear and hatred of Russia at this time, when that nation is fighting heroically by our side, it is easy to imagine a chorus of fear and hate when the war is over.

On the other hand, there are encouraging signs. No two men are more firm believers in capitalism than Wendell Willkie and Joseph E. Davies, former ambassador to Russia, and yet they both believe that Russia and the United States can work together and live on peaceful terms with each other after the war if both peoples are guided by reason and tolerance rather than by prejudice and ill will.

Being sympathetic with Russia does not mean, of course, that we should encourage communism in this country. What we do about communism here is our own business, just as what Russia does about capitalism is her business.

References

Books

"We're in This with Russia," by Wallace Carroll (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$2). A leading newspaperman urges the United States to adopt a more realistic policy in dealing with the Soviet. His central thesis is that we can and must get along with Russia if permanent peace is to exist in the world.

"Mission to Moscow," by Joseph E. Davies (New York: Simon and Schuster. \$3). The former U. S. ambassador to Russia gives an enlightening description of Russian policies since 1936. Excellent.

"The Russians: The Land, the People, and Why They Fight," by Albert Rhys Williams (New York: Harcourt, Brace. \$2). Despite its partiality toward the Soviet experiment, this is one of the most complete descriptive works of all phases of life in Russia.

"Assignment in Utopia," by Eugene Lyons (New York: Harcourt, Brace, \$3.50). A highly critical discussion of the Soviet experiment by a leading newspaperman who spent years in the Soviet Union.

"Collectivism: A False Utopia," by William Henry Chamberlin. (New York: Macmillan. \$2). A comparison of the democratic and the collectivist systems. Highly critical of the Soviet experiment.

"Is Tomorrow Hitler's?" by H. R. Knickerbocker (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50). The author sees great danger in Russia's power in the postwar world.

Pamphlets

"Russia at War," by Vera Micheles Dean (New York: Foreign Policy Association. 25 cents).

"The Peoples of the Soviet Union," by Ales Hrdlicka (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution. Free).

"Russia: Democracy or Dictatorship?" by Norman Thomas and Joel Seidman (New York: League for Industrial Democracy. 25 cents).

Pronunciations

Kuibyshev—kwee'bee-shef
Magnitogorsk—mag-nee'toe-gorsk'
Sevastopol—suh-vas'toe-pol
Vladivostok—vlah'di-vos-tok'
Kharkov—kahr'koff
Kiev—kee'yeff
Rimsky-Korsakov—rim'skee kor'sah-koff
Tschaikowsky—chy-koff'skee
Sergei Rachmaninoff—sair-gay'rahk-mah'nee-noff
Igor Stravinsky—ee'gor strah-vin'skee
Prokofiev—proe-koe'fee-yef
Shostakovich—shos-tah-koe'vich
Vaslav Nijinsky—vahs'lahf nee-jin'skee
Diaghilev—dee-ah-gee'leff
Pavlova—pahv-loe'vah
Suvaroff—soo-vah'roff
Mikhail Kutuzov—mee-kah'yeel koo-too'zoff
Semyon Timoshenko—sem-yon' tee-moe-shen'koe
Klementi Voroshilov—klay-men'tee voe-roe-shee'loff
Zhukov—zoo'koff
Shaposhnikov—shah'posh-nee-koff
Dostoevsky—dos'toy-yef'skee
Gogol—goe'gol
Pushkin—poosh'kin
Chekhov—chek'off



Young Communists

Timoshenko
ACMESholokhov
SOVPHOTOTchaikowsky
SOVPHOTO

Catherine the Great



Tolstoy

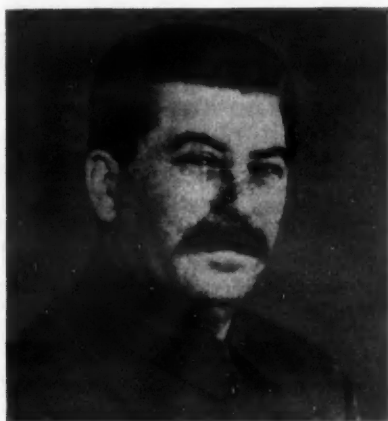
Shostakovich
SOVPHOTOShaposhnikov
INT'L NEWS

Rachmaninoff

Russia's Leaders--Past and Present

THE pages of Russia's long and turbulent history are generously sprinkled with the names of men and women whose deeds have attracted world-wide attention. In government and military affairs, in literature and music, and in many other fields the Russian people can point to outstanding accomplishments made by their fellow countrymen of the past and present.

Memories of past Russian leaders,

Josef Stalin
W. W.

of course, are not entirely happy ones. The very name of Ivan the Terrible suggests the harsh and uncompromising rule of many of the czars. Most of them are remembered not for any progress that they made possible, but instead for their stern ways of governing.

The iron hand did not disappear even during the reigns of Peter the

Great, Catherine the Great, and Alexander I—the three rulers who at least did something to further the nation's development. Peter and Catherine pushed the modernization of Russia, while Alexander I is remembered for the fact that during his rule Napoleon pushed all the way to Moscow, only to be compelled to make a disastrous and costly retreat from the scene of conquest.

Among all their statesmen, however, the only ones whom the Russian people today look upon as great national heroes are Nikolai Lenin and Josef Stalin—the men who engineered the Communist Revolution of 1917. Lenin was the chief organizer and leader of the small band of Communists who managed to seize power after reverses in the First World War had brought Russia to a state of collapse. His party gained control, survived a period of bitter civil war and foreign attack, and began to build the world's first communist state. Lenin was a shrewd and able leader whose name today is revered by millions of Russians just as that of Washington is in the United States.

Stalin Wins Out

When Lenin died in 1924, a battle for leadership was waged among his lieutenants. Josef Stalin emerged from this struggle victorious over his principal opponent, Leon Trotsky, and from that day until now his word has been law in Russia. As a boy, Stalin was intended for the priesthood, but he turned revolution-

ist, and began a long period of underground opposition to czarist rule, which finally brought success.

Stalin has come to occupy a place beside that of Lenin in the eyes of the Russian people. He can be stern and ruthless, and he rules Russia with an iron hand. Not only has he carried on the work of changing the country into a modern nation, but he had the ability and foresight to strengthen Russia for her present day of trials. To him credit is thus given for making Russia one of the leading industrial powers in the world.

Military Leaders

Among her military leaders, Russia's generals of today outshine practically all those of the past. And this is not easy to do, because the past includes the name of the celebrated Alexander Suvaroff, who in the eighteenth century made a reputation for brilliant leadership in campaigns from one end of the continent to the other. Another Russian commander-in-chief of note was Mikhail Kutuzov, who was at the helm when Napoleon bit off more of Russia than he could chew.

The greatest Russian general today, and one of the best known throughout the world, is Marshal Semyon Timoshenko, who has been in command of several of the most critical fighting fronts. Less well known is Boris M. Shaposhnikov, acknowledged as Russia's greatest strategist, who has remained in the background to devise many of the plans used against the Nazis. He is also one of the nation's most distinguished military teachers, and many of the other outstanding Soviet officers today were once his pupils. Two other generals who have distinguished themselves consistently in this war are Klementi Voroshilov and Georgi Zhukov.

In literature, the Russians who have won and held fame are those who have written about the great sufferings and hardships of the people. It was out of a deep sympathy for human misery that Feodor Dostoevsky, in the nineteenth century, wrote the great novels *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*. During the same time, similar feelings were brought forth in the writings of Nicholas Gogol, Alexander Pushkin, Anton Chekhov, and Ivan Turgenev.

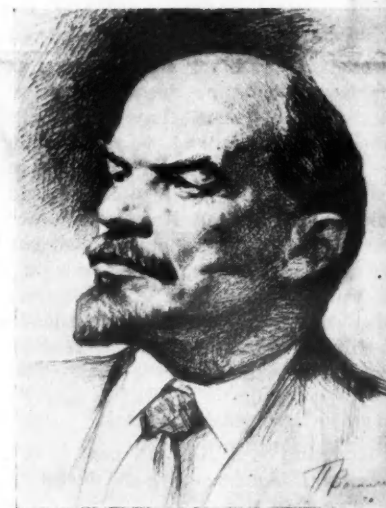
Certainly the best known of the Russian novelists—and some say he is the world's greatest—is Count Leo Tolstoy, whose finest book, *War and Peace*, is built around Napoleon's campaign in Russia. Although born a wealthy nobleman, he went to live among peasants out of sympathy for them. Today his son, Alexey Tolstoy, is one of Russia's leading writers.

Topmost among Russian writers today, however, is Mikhail Sholokhov, who many believe will take his place among the greatest of all

time. The best of his books is *The Quiet Don*.

The Russians have always been an intensely musical people, and in the past developed many folk songs and dances. Out of this tradition grew the Russian ballet until it was second to none in the world. The greatest producer of the ballet was Sergei Diaghilev, who also introduced many changes to the art in the early years of this century. Among his company of dancers was Anna Pavlova, the most famous ballerina of her day, while the greatest male dancer was Vaslav Nijinsky.

In the field of music, too, the Russians have produced some of the world's greatest composers. Some of them, such as Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Igor Stravinsky, wrote music especially for the ballet. A much wider variety of music was composed by Peter Tschaikowsky, probably the best known of all Russian composers. Also widely known among the composers are Anton G.

Nikolai Lenin
SOVPHOTO

SMILES

Visitor: "What a glorious painting! I wish I could take those lovely colors home with me."

Artist: "You will—you're sitting on my paint box."

—WALL STREET JOURNAL

Once upon a time there was a military homing pigeon. And as it was flying leisurely to its destination with a report from the front, it was jostled by a second pigeon, which bawled: "Get a move on. I've got a denial of the report."

—TIM BITS

Boss: "Young man, do you know that you have been late four times this week?"

Clerk: "Oh, no sir, I'm not one of those fellows who watches the clock."

—SCRIPPAGE

Reckless Driver: "Isn't it great, speeding along like this? Don't you feel glad you're alive?"

Passenger: "Glad isn't the word—I'm amazed."

—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"I insured my voice," stated the famous singer, "for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars."

"And what," asked his rival, "have you done with the money?"

—SELECTED

"Mr. Dumgard, what is a twip?"

"A twip, sir, is a wide on a twain."

—LABOR

Disappointed Candidate: "I thought sure I heard the voice of the people calling me."

Friend: "It must have been yourself thinking out loud."

—LABOR

"Well, what did you think of my last joke?"

"Boy, am I glad to hear it's your last!"

—SCRIPPAGE

Teacher: "I asked you to write about the funniest thing you ever saw. Why have you handed in this blank paper?"

Joe: "The funniest thing I ever saw was too funny for words."

—BOY'S LIFE



"Right now it doesn't seem very birdlike, does it?"

DAY IN COLLIER'S